

Message Text

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FOR EUR/NE AND EUR/RPE ONLY

E.O. 11652: NA
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SUBJ: SPEECH TO LUXEMBOURG UNION OF EUROPEAN FEDERALISTS.

1. I HAVE ACCEPTED AN INVITATION TO SPEAK TO THE LUXEMBOURG UNION OF EUROPEAN FEDERALISTS ON SEPTEMBER 13 ON QUOTE THE UNITES STATES AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TODAY UNQUOTE. GROUP CONSISTS LARGELY OF YOUNG LUXEMBOURG PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE AND EEC OFFICIALS. A FIRST DRAFT OF MY SPEECH, WHICH MIGHT STILL BE CHANGED SLIGHTLY OR POLISHED OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS, FOLLOWS FOR DEPARTMENT'S COMMENT, IF ANY.

2. BEGIN TEXT: IT IS SOMEWHAT PARADOXICAL FOR AN AMERICAN OFFICIAL--WHO REPRESENTS A FEDERAL STATE--TO BE TALKING TO A GROUP OF EUROPEAN FEDERALISTS--WHO REPRESENT A NON-FEDERATED GROUP OF STATES--ABOUT EUROPEAN UNITY, UNIFICATION, FEDERALISM OR WHATEVER TERM YOU PREFER. IN THE FIRST PLACE, OUR FEDERALISM EVOLVED UNDER CONDITIONS SO DIFFERENT FROM THOSE IN EUROPE THAT I BELIEVE A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS IS ALL BUT MEANINGLESS. SECOND, SINCE WE IN THE UNITED STATES NOW TAKE OUR FEDERALISM FOR GRANTED, IT IS OFTEN DIFFICULT FOR US TO APPRECIATE THE COMPLEX PROBLEMS YOU EUROPEAN FEDERALISTS FACE IN YOUR EFFORTS. AND THIRD, I SUSPECT THAT YOU MAY FIND IT DIFFICULT TO

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UNDERSTAND EXACTLY WHAT OUR VIEW IS TOWARD EUROPEAN FEDERALISM OR, MORE PRECISELY, ITS PRACTICAL EXPRESSION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. YOU MAY WELL WONDER, FOR EXAMPLE, WHETHER WE IN AMERICA FEEL DIFFERENTLY ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TODAY THAN WE HAVE BEFORE, GIVEN THE RAPID AND FAR-REACHING CHANGES THAT THE OCCURRED IN THE WORLD IN RECENT TIMES.

-- IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS, FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE SEEN A QUADRUPLING OF WORLD OIL PRICES; CHRONIC INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT THROUGHOUT THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD; REPLACEMENT OF THE MORE-OR-LESS STABLE BRETTON WOODS MONETARY SYSTEM WITH FLOATING EXCHANGE RATES, DEVALUATIONS AND UNPRECEDENTED CURRENCY MOVEMENTS; THE NEW AND URGENT INSISTENCE OF THE THIRD WORLD ON A QUOTE NEW ECONOMIC ORDER UNQUOTE; AND THE CONTINUING BUILD-UP OF SOVIET ARMED FORCES IN EASTERN EUROPE AT THE SAME TIME AS THE MAJOR POWERS TRY TO ESTABLISH A SOLID BASIS FOR DETENTE.

-- THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN MORE SUBTLE BUT EQUALLY IMPORTANT CHANGES OF MOOD. THERE ARE NEW PROTECTIONIST PRESSURES ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC WHICH THREATEN THE PRINCIPLES OF FREE TRADE UPON WHICH OUR POST-WAR PROSPERITY HAS BEEN SO DEPENDENT. THERE IS A HEIGHTENED CONCERN ABOUT NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY WHICH COMPLICATES THE SEARCH FOR NEW SOURCES OF ENERGY. THERE IS THE PHENOMENON OF EURO-COMMUNISM. THERE IS A NEW EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, GENERATED IN PART BY THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT ON EUROPEAN SECURITY, BUT WITH PROFOUND REPERCUSSIONS BEYOND EUROPE-- IN SANTIAGO AND PRETORIA AS WELL AS IN MOSCOW AND BUDAPEST.

-- IN THE CONTEXT OF SUCH CHANGES, THE NEW ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT CARTER BEGAN LAST JANUARY TO REVIEW AMERICAN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES IN THE WORLD AND TO REDEFINE AND RESTATE U.S. POLICIES. THE RESULT OF THE REVIEW IN REGARD TO THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY WAS SUCCINCTLY STATED BY AMBASSADOR ARTHUR HARTMAN, THEN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, IN TESTIMONY BEFORE THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS LAST MAY 24. REFERRING TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S SPEECH AT THE SPRING NATO SUMMIT MEETING IN LONDON, AMBASSADOR HARTMAN SAID: QUOTE THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSED STORNG UNITED STATES SUPPORT FOR PROGRESS TOWARD WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION AND THE EXPANDING ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN WORLD AFFAIRS AND ADDED THAT WE WILL WORK CLOSELY WITH THE COMMUNITY. THIS DOES NOT MEAN, OF COURSE, THAT THERE WILL BE NO PROBLEMS BETWEEN US. IN PARTICULAR, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO PRESERVE THE FLUID TRANS-ATLANTIC TRADING RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAS BEEN OF OVERALL BENEFIT BOTH TO THE UNITED STATES AND TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES. NOR DOES THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT MEAN THAT THE U.S. SHOULD SEEK TO DETERMINE THE CHARACTER AND THE PACE OF THE UNIFICATION PROCESS. THAT IS FOR THE EUROPEANS THEMSELVES TO DETERMINE. BUT WE ARE GLAD TO GIVE OUR WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT TO THE UNIFICATION PROCESS AS EVERY U.S. ADMINISTRATION HAS DONE SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. UNQUOTE.

-- THREE THEMES EMERGE CLEARLY FROM THIS STATEMENT; FIRST, OUR CONTINUING STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN UNIFICATION; SECOND, OUR RECOGNITION THAT THE PACE AND FORM OF EUROPEAN UNIFICATION ARE FOR THE EUROPEANS THEMSELVES TO DECIDE; THIRD, OUR EXPECTATION THAT A UNITING EUROPE WILL PLAY AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. TOGETHER THESE THREE IDEAS PROVIDE THE CORNERSTONE OF U.S. POLICY TOWARDS THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

-- WHY HAS EVERY U.S. ADMINISTRATION SINCE THE WAR SUPPORTED THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN UNIFICATION, AND WHY DOES THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT CARTER CONTINUE TO DO SO? IN THE EARLY POST-WAR YEARS, THE UNITED STATES SAW EUROPEAN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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UNIFICATION AS A MEANS OF HEALING BOTH THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RAVAGES OF WAR, AS A MODUS OPERANDI FOR HARNESSING THE ENERGIES OF FORMER ALLIES AND FORMER ENEMIES IN REBUILDING A PROSPEROUS, STABLE WESTERN EUROPE. JUDGED BY THOSE EARLY EXPECTATIONS, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY REMAINS ONE OF HISTORY'S GREAT SUCCESSES.

-- AS TIME WENT ON, HOWEVER, AS THE STATES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY BECAME MORE PROSPEROUS AND LESS DEPENDENT ON THE UNITED STATES, SOME AMERICANS BEGAN TO ASK WHETHER EUROPEAN ECONOMIC UNITY WAS A NOT A MIXED BLESSING FOR THE UNITED STATES--AT LEAST IN AN COMMERCIAL SENSE. THESE DOUBTS WERE PARTLY LAID TO REST BY A SERIES OF MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS, PARTICULARLY THE SO-CALLED KENNEDY ROUND, WHICH DEMONSTRATED THAT FREER TRADE BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES WAS MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL.

-- MORE RECENTLY, AS THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TOOK ITS FIRST STEPS TOWARDS COMMON FOREIGN POLICIES, FOR EXAMPLE IN 1973 IN REGARD TO THE SECOND ISRAELI-ARAB WAR, THERE WAS SOME CONCERN IN AMERICA THAT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY MIGHT FOLLOW POLICIES THAT WOULD PLACE IT AND THE UNITED STATES IN AN ADVERSARIAL RELATIONSHIP. PARTIENT CONSULTATIONS OVER THE LAST FOUR YEARS HAVE LARGELY QUIETED THESE CONCERNS. AMERICANS HAVE SOUGHT TO REASSURE EUROPEANS THAT OUR GOAL IS PARTNERSHIP, NOT DOMINATION, AND EUROPEANS HAVE SOUGHT TO REASSURE

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5920

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AMERICANS THAT EUROPEAN UNITY WILL BE BUILT IN COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES, NOT IN OPPOSITION. MOREOVER, THROUGH CONCERTED ACTION ON DIFFICULT PROBLEMS SUCH AS THE ENERGY CRISIS, WE HAVE SEEN SINCE 1973 THAT OUR COMMON INTERESTS REMAIN INFINITELY STRONGER THAN OUR DIFFERENCES. IT IS THUS NOT SURPRISING THAT THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION HAS FOLLOWED ALL PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS IN STATING OUR SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN UNIFICATION.

-- NOR IS IT SURPRISING THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS REITERATED THE POSITION OF RECENT ADMINISTRATIONS THAT EUROPEAN THEMSELVES MUST DETERMINE THAT CHARACTER AND PACE OF THE UNIFICATION PRECESS. EUROPE'S MOST ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORTERS, FROM JEAN MONNET TO LEO TINDEMANS, INCLUDING SUCH EMINENT EUROPEANS AS YOUR ONW PIERRE WERNER AND GASTON THORN, HAVE ALWAYS REGARDED EUROPEAN UNIFICATION AS AN ORGANIC RATHER THAN A MECHANICAL PROCESS--MEANING THAT NO AMOUNT OF ADJUSTING OR TINKERING WILL PRODUCE PROGRESS TOWARDS VIABLE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS IF THE POLITICAL WILL IS NOT SUFFICIENTLY STRONG.

-- WE AMERICANS RECONGINZE THAT FACT TOO. AND WE ARE ALSO AWARE OF THE DELICATE PROBLEMS THAT NINE INDEPENDENT
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NATIONS FACE IN ATTEMPTING TO POOL EVEN A PART OF THEIR SOVEREIGNTY. WE CAN UNDERSTAND WHY, FOR EXAMPLE, THE QUESTION OF DIRECT ELECTIONS TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT STIRS APPREHENSION IN SOME MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY, AND WHY THERE IS SERIOUS DEBATE WITHIN THE COMMUNITY ON THE PROPOSALS OFFERED BY PRIME MINISTER TINDEMANS ON HIS 1976 REPORT.

-- WE ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT THE COMMUNITY IS NOW APPROACHING ITS NEXT IMPORTANT CROSSROADS INVOLVING FUNDAMENTAL DECISIONS ABOUT ITS SHAPE AND DIRECTION. WILL IT EXPAND TO INCLUDE SPAIN, PORTUGAL, GREECE, TURKEY AND PERHAPS OTHER COUNTRIES? WILL IT STRENGTHEN THEN AUTHORITY OF THE COMMISSION OR INVEST NEW POWERS IN THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL? WILL THERE BE A TWO-TIER COMMUNITY OR WILL THE RULES AND REGULATIONS APPLY EQUALLY TO ALL MEMBER STATES? WHAT WILL BE THE POWER AND REACH OF THE EUROPEAN COURT OF JUSTICE? WILL THE COMMUNITY ACHIEVE GREATER OR LESSER COHESIVENESS IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS? SIMPLY LISTING THESE QUESTIONS UNDERSCORES THE DOPLITICALLY EXPLOSIVE PROBLEMS THE MEMBER STATES ARE TRYING TO RESOLVE AND WHICH ONLY THEY CAN RESOLVE.

-- I DO NOT MEAN TO IMPLY THAT THE UNITED STATES IS UNINTERESTED IN THESE ISSUES. ON THE CONTRARY, WE HAVE AN IMPORTANT STAKE IN MANY OF THEM, AND WE WILL NOT HESITATE TO MAKE OUR VIEWS KNOWN IN THE NORMAL WAY THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. BUT I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT WE WILL NOT SEEK TO HAVE THE COMMUNITY ACCEPT ANY AMERICAN BLUEPRINT OR PLAN FOR EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION. THERE IS NO SUCH U.S. BLUEPRINT, AND IT IS A MEASURE OF THE MATURITY AND CINFIDENCE OF OUR REATIONS TODAY THAT WE AMERICAN S ARE CONVINCED THAT EUROPE WILL NOT ONLY CHOOSE WHAT IS BEST FOR ITSELF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BUT ALSO THAT THESE CHOICES WILL SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE ENTIRE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY.

-- THE THIRD POINT AMBASSADOR HARTMAN MADE IN HIS STATEMENT WAS THAT THE UNITED STATES LOOKS TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TO PLAY AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. THE COMMUNITY HAS ALREADY MADE SOME NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS IN THIS REGARD. THE LOME CONVENTION IS ONE EXAMPLE. THE COMMUNITY'S SUCCESS IN CONCERTING ITS EFFORTS IN THE UNITED NATIONS, AND AGAIN AT HELSINKI AND BELGRADE WHERE THE MEMBER STATES ADDRESSED EUROPEAN SECURITY ISSUES WITH ONE VOICE ARE OTHERS. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE INFLUENCE OF THE WHOLE IS GREATER THAN THE SUM OF ITS PARTS WHEN THE COMMUNITY MEMBER STATES ACT IN CONCERT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE.

-- THAT IS WHY I EMPHASIZED EARLIER THE COMPLICATED NATURE OF THE CHALLENGES THAT WESTERN WORLD FACES TODAY. NO NATION CAN DEAL WITH THE ENERGY CRISIS BY ITSELF, OR WITH POLLUTION OF THE ATMOSPHERE BY ITSELF, OR WITH DIMINISHING NATURAL RESOURCES BY ITSELF. NO NATION CAN ASSURE THE ECONOMIC WELL BEING OF ITS CITIZENS IN AN INCREASINGLY INTERDEPENDENT

WORLD BY ITSELF. NO NATION CAN DETER AGGRESSION AND GUARANTEE THE FREEDOM AND SECURITY OF ITS CITIZENS BY ITSELF. ALL OF THESE PROBLEMS REQUIRE--NOT PERMIT BUT REQUIRE--A CLOSE WORKING PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATE AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

-- IN SOME EUROPEAN CIRCLES, THE TERM PARTNERSHIP HAS BEEN MISUNDERSTOOD, PERHAPS BECAUSE THERE IS NO ADEQUATE FRENCH TRANSLATION. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT WE DO NOT MEAN QUOTE DOMINATION UNQUOTE WHEN WE SPEAK OF PARTNERSHIP. NOR DOES THE UNITED STATES WISH TO BECOME A QUOTE TENTH UNQUOTE PARTICIPANT IN THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY. WHAT WE DO HOPE TO ACHIEVE IS CLOSE, FRANK AND FREQUENT CONSULTATIONS ON ISSUES OF MUTAL CONCERN.
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-- EVEN WITH CLOSE CONSULATIONS, OF COURSE, WE WILL NOT ALWAYS BE ABLE TO AVOID PROBLEMS OR DISAGREEMENTS IN UNITED STATES-EUROPEAN RELATIONS. THERE ARE, IN FACT, A HOST OF OUTSTANDING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES. IN THE AREAS OF TRADE ALONE THERE ARE NUMEROUS ISSUES WHICH WILL CAUSE CONTINUING IRRITATION UNLESS THEY CAN SOMEHOW BE RESOLVED. IN THIS REPSE T, A NEW ROUND OF MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS WILL SOON BE UNDER WAY IN EARNEST IN GENEVA AND WE HOPE THAT THEY WILL PROVE AT LEAST AS CONSTRUCTIVE AS EARLIER EFFORTS AT REDUCING TRADE BARRIERS.

-- THERE IS ALSO SOME DIVERGENCE OF OPINION IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES ON NEW INTERNATIONAL MONETARY ARRANGEMENTS, AND SOME DISAGREEMENT ON TACTICS IN DEALING WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE EASTERN BLOC NATIONS.

-- I COULD MENTION OTHER AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT, BUT THESE SHOULD SUFFICE TO INDICATE THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY AND THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT BE ALL SWEETNESS AND LIGHT IN THE COMING MONTHS AND YEARS. ISSUES LIEK CONCORDE LANDING RIGHTS IN NEW YORK, TARIFFS ON SHOES AND CHICKEN PARTS, THE BEST WAY TO PROD THE SOVIET UNION TOWARDS GREATER COMPLIANCE WITH THE HELSINKI AGREEMENTS--IN SHORT, ALL THE ISSUES GREAT AND SMALL THAT MAKE UP INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS--WILL BE PART OF THE UNITED STATES-EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY DIALOUGE. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT DIALOGUE WILL CONTINUE TO BRING US CLOSER TOGETHER, NOT DIRVE US FURTHER APART, BECAUSE THE HISTORIC TIES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE, OUR COMMON CULTURAL HERITAGE AND OUR COMMON COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC IDEALS, WILL INSURE THAT, DESPITE DIFFERENCES IN EMPHASIS OR TACTICS, THERE WILL ALWAYS BE
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A BASIS BETWEEN US FOR AGREEMENT ON ESSENTIALS. THAT
IS WHAT WE MEAN BY PARTNERSHIP, AND IT IS THE KIND OF
RELATIONSHIP THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO WORK TO STRENGTHEN
AS THE MEMEBER STATES WORK TO STRENGTHEN THE COMMUNITY
FROM WITHIN. CONSIDER US, THEN, AS INTERESTED,
SYMPHATHETIC AND WELL
INTENTIONED FRIEND AS YOU DEVELOP YOUR OWN KIND, YOUR
EUROPEAN KIND, OF FEDERALISM ON THIS CONTINENT WHICH,
AFTER ALL, IS THE PALCE FROM WHICH WE CAME. END TEXT. LOWENSTEIN

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